

15  
COMMON SENSE,

O R,

LET US BE HAPPY,  
WHILE WE ARE WELL.

---

My Son, fear thou the LORD and the KING, and meddle  
not with them that are given to change.

PROV. XXIV. V. 21.

---

*admiral*

LANCASTER;  
PRINTED BY A. BUSER;  
AND SOLD BY  
G. and T. WILKIE, PATERNOSTER-ROW;  
AND  
J. DEBRET, PICCADILLY;  
LONDON.  
M,DCC,XCIII.

COMMON SENSE

COMMON SENSE, &c.

WHEN factions and dissensions  
debilitate, dissuading dissent  
and opinions, not merely dangerous, but in fact  
injurious to all Government, and destructive  
to the peace and happiness of all Society, it be-  
comes the duty of every good Citizen to stand  
boldly forward, and to attempt to stem the con-  
flict, which, unless stopped, will sooner or later  
convert this happy and flourishing State  
into a scene of misery and confusion.

My sole object in addressing the public  
is from a conviction that a great number of  
A

---

---

## COMMON SENSE, &c.

---

---

**W**HEN factious and discontented Men are industriously disseminating doctrines and opinions, not merely dangerous; but in fact subversive of all Government, and destructive to the peace and happiness of all Society, it becomes the duty of every good Citizen to stand boldly forward, and to attempt to stem the torrent, which, unless resisted, will sooner or later overwhelm this happy and flourishing Kingdom, with misery and confusion.

My sole object, in addressing the Public,  
is from a conviction that a great number of  
A my



my Countrymen, far from being intentionally dissatisfied with our Government, have had their minds imperceptibly poisoned and alienated by the numberless mischievous and seditious Publications, which, of late, have been issued forth in such shoals, and circulated with such unwearied industry, that the most remote corners of the British Empire have, in some degree, felt their baneful influence.

These new Doctrines are cloathed with the specious titles of "THE RIGHTS OF MAN," "LIBERTY and EQUALITY," &c. &c. and for the promulgation of these pernicious Principles, Societies have been formed in the Metropolis and principal Towns, and Clubs established in almost every Village in the three Kingdoms. By these means the plant of Rebellion has been generated—has taken root—and has thriven apace amongst Us.

It is high time then, that We should look about Us with circumspection, and before it is too late, trace, if possible, the evil to its source, and apply a remedy equal to the magnitude of the Emergency.

The



The first promoters of disaffection have long been restless and discontented, and when opportunity offered, were evermore thwarting, and throwing obstacles in the way of Government. At one time, They are clamorous and straining every nerve to obtain the Repeal of the Test Act (that excellent Palladium of our Constitution both in Church and State) in which case, They would be fully competent to serve, and have command in the Army, and Navy, and to fill all offices of power and emolument under Government. Had their efforts been successful, it is greatly to be feared, that, 'ere now, our boasted Constitution would have been sapped to its foundation:—For what, in reason, could we expect from Men in office, whose principles are subversive of that very Government under which They serve?—A well-known Writer on the subject of the Repeal of the Test Laws, thus delivers himself, “ Let not the Protestant Dissenters put their trust in king, minister, or prelates; but let them confide in their own exertions, the justice of their cause, and the generosity of the nation. Let them not be withheld by promises, or intimidated by threats, from prosecuting their design, or using all the helps which Providence has placed in their power. There

is

is not an individual among them, however humble his situation, however confined his sphere of action, who may not exert himself with effect. By conversation with his neighbours, by correspondence with his friends, he may conciliate our enemies, and make the luke-warm zealous.—Besides, the time cannot be far remote, when the Representatives of the people must give an account of their trust to their constituents; and that power, which the Dissenters so signally displayed at the dissolution of the last Parliament, must have considerable influence at the conclusion of the present.\* Such a crisis in favour of the Dissenters may not occur in the revolution of ages; and it is a duty to themselves and their posterity to take advantage of it.”

Is this constitutional Language? Is this the Language of Men well affected to our Government? No! Their meaning and their views have long been unequivocal, and their disloyalty is written in conspicuous characters.

Another Author, equally famous for republican principles, and a professed enemy to the British Constitution both in Church and State,

\* Meaning the Election 1790, which followed a little after the Publication of the Pamphlet from which the above extract is taken.

in order to bring into Disesteem our Code of criminal Jurisprudence, says, "The Laws of England are severe, They hang a man for stealing a silk handkerchief value five shillings; They confine a Man a month to hard labour and bread and water, for stealing a Turnip, or plundering a hedge."

Who can read a recent Publication of Mr. C..P.R from page 57 to 63, and will not acknowledge that the late Birmingham Doctor is ably assisted in his very pious labour of planting in proper order, those Grains of Gunpowder, which, he boasts, are sooner or later to blow up our Constitution, both in Church and State.—Mr. C..P.R is evidently, not only as well disposed as the Doctor, to lay the *Train*, but also as ready and willing to apply the *Match*, whenever the much wished for Crisis is at hand. Let us contemplate the Doctrines and Principles of these leading Gentlemen, and then resolve whether this be either a proper, or even a safe season for repealing the Test Laws?

A reformation in Parliament is at another time indispensibly necessary, and when Administration have been obliged to equip a Fleet, to chastise our Enemies, to assist our Allies, or to protect our Commerce, their opposition has  
been



been invariably uniform. If a clamour is raised in a Sister Kingdom, they are at all times ready to join in the uproar, and to add fuel to the flame of discontent. In short, the subversion of our Government, both in Church and State, is evidently the aim and object of many of those discontented Men.—Of Princes 'tis said, "There is but a short space between their Prisons and their Tombs." With equal propriety we may observe, That there are but a few links between Reformation and a Revolution.

Our boasted Constitution (the pride and glory of Englishmen) has not been brought to its present perfection in a day, a month, a year, or a Generation; no! the wisdom of ages has matured its growth; the bravest Sons of Britain have died in its defence, and rivers of blood have been shed in its support.—Our Laws, unequalled in any Country, hold sacred the Liberty and Property of every individual, and of every *Body* of Men. In their operation, there is no distinction of persons; the Prince on the Throne, and the Peasant in his Cottage, equally participate in the common protection.

Let then no unhallowed hand pollute this inestimable fabrick—forbid it heaven! forbid it every Briton!—As our choicest treasure,  
let

let us love and protect it, and hand it down to our Children, as their dearest and most inestimable Patrimony.

If ever there existed that happy *Æra*, when the People of any Country upon Earth, had peculiar cause to thank Providence for the blessings they enjoyed; the present is, my Countrymen, that propitious time with Us.—Let us then, with grateful hearts, and bended knees, implore the ALMIGHTY for a continuance of them.

One of the greatest Politicians, and one of the best men in Europe, (the celebrated Mr. NECKER,) in his "*Essay on Executive Power*," thus expresses his sentiments with respect to the British Government;—"Since this Epoch, (*the Revolution and the time of the subsequent acts of Parliament*) the English have imagined they enjoy all the happiness which Liberty can procure; and have never *spoken* of their Government without testifying, by some epithet, the love which they feel for it—*Our happy Constitution* is their habitual phrase, their familiar expression, not only among their representatives, but in their distant provinces, in their towns and villages. Yet to this nation, enlightened by events so numerous, and whose constitutional

constitutional vigour is fortified like forest oaks, by winds and beating tempests; to this Nation have our politicians of yesterday, our cold theorists, and our tumultuous legislators opposed their hasty and recent innovations. MAY HEAVEN ETERNALLY PRESERVE THAT NATION FROM A LIKE CHANGE!—To me it should seem a CRIME so much as to *conceive* the design. You who are the ardent propagators of *Novelties not yet proved*, respect this cradle of Liberty; respect the Country in which Freedom took birth; the Country destined perhaps to remain its sole asylum, if ever your own *exaggerations* should drive it from you.—And you, *generous Nation*, you our first instructors in the knowledge and love of Liberty, continue long to *preserve* the good of which you are *in possession*. May the freedom you enjoy be ever united to your great *moral* qualities; and may it ever be as truly defended by your PRUDENCE as by your *Courage*.—To you it belongs to maintain the renown of Liberty, and religiously to *guard* that sacred fire which among us has only become *the instrument of conflagration*.”

Such are the sentiments of that great Man, and the more to be regarded, as being uninfluenced



fluenced by the prejudices of birth, clime, or education.

Blessed with a mild and benevolent Prince upon the Throne, whose religious and moral virtues have endeared him to all good Men, who, tho', armed with the Sword of Power, never used it as an instrument of oppression; but who, on all occasions, has manifested his parental love and affection for his People;—can we then be so ungenerous, as repay his love and affection, with ingratitude and disaffection? No! let us spurn the idea, and banish every disloyal thought from amongst us.

Never did this Country boast a more able and patriotic Minister than the present Premier; 'tis difficult to say, whether his wonderful powers of mind, or his incorruptible integrity are most deserving our esteem and admiration.

When first raised by his Sovereign, to the exalted station he now fills, with so much honor to himself and advantage to his Country, he had to contend with a Phalanx of difficulties. The Nation wearied and exhausted both in blood and treasure by a ruinous and unsuccessful War—its Councils weakened with jarring interests—an empty Exchequer—the  
 Empire

Empire dismembered—forsaken and deserted by our Allies—not one friendly Power found to stretch forth her hand to assist us—and our Commerce languishing nearly to extinction.—Such was the Picture presented to the Minister's view, when at the age of 24 our young JULIUS was called to the Reins of Government.

It is worthy of remark, that our Funds, viz. the 3 per Cent. Consols, were at 55 per Cent. and Sheep's Wool, our staple Commodity, at 2s. 4d. per Stone, at the commencement of the Year 1783. I have drawn this slight sketch of our situation at that time, in order to contrast it with the state of this Country, in the Summer of the Year 1792; So that by comparing our relative situations at those periods, My Countrymen may see, what abundant reason We have to repose the fullest confidence in Government, which by the wisdom of its Councils, and attention to our interests, has raised us, in a few years, from the lowest ebb of despondency to our present unexampled pitch of Prosperity and Riches.

That the trade of Great Britain is at this time prosperous and flourishing, in a degree unknown in this or any other Country, at any former

former period, is so obvious, and so true, that the most dissatisfied do not pretend to controvert it. Our numerous and various manufactories throughout *Yorkshire, Lancashire, Staffordshire*, and in short, in every County in *England*, as well as in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, are all equally prosperous; and some of them have, within a few years, multiplied ten fold, and still continue encreasing. Our Administration is firm and united in their Councils—Our Alliance is courted by neighbouring Powers, and our Colonies are content and happy.—The public Revenue has been for years back progressively encreasing;—more than NINE MILLIONS of the National Debt have been paid off, and our taxes are diminishing.—The British Flag triumphant rules the ocean, and is respected by all Nations; and such is the enterprising spirit of our Merchants, under the protection of the British Government, aided by the natural hardiness and bravery of our Seamen, that the riches of every clime, and the produce of every Soil, is poured into the lap of this favoured Island: of which it seems no hyperbole to say, that she holds the Cornucopia of the Globe.—The Land-owner and the Farmer equally participate in the general Prosperity: the influx of  
wealth



wealth to the Merchant and Manufacturer enhances the value of the Possessions of the former, and the latter receives with gladness an increased price, for the produce of his labour.—Our Funds, viz. the 3 per Cent. Consols. in the Spring of the Year 1792, were up at 96 per Cent; and Sheep's Wool now at 7s. 6d. per stone, which in the year 1783 was at 2s. 4d.

If then, this Country, under its present form of Government, is in this flattering state of prosperity, and its trade and manufactories in the flourishing condition I have described them,—Why this outcry for a change?—Whence these seditious murmurings, discontents and disaffection?—Can Englishmen be so blind to their Interests, as not to see when they are well?—Can we for a moment be so monstrously infatuated, as to surrender our peace, our liberties, our very existence as an Empire, and every thing we hold dear in life, into the hands of visionary Reformists—into the hands of Men, avowed Enemies to Monarchy, and to our happy Constitution both in Church and State?—Forbid it Heaven!—Forbid it every Briton!

I wish (if possible) to arouse some of my Countrymen from their delusive dream; from their stupor of disloyalty; and exhibit to view the dreadful calamities which might befall Us, and which are exemplified in a manner, so awfully terrible, in a neighbouring Kingdom.

But many of our Speculatists say, *They disavow all intention of subverting Government; and a temperate and rational Reform is all they want, and all they are contending for.* Granted.—But have these Theorists agreed in their mode of Reformation?—Are they all unanimous?—Do they hold up to our view a better System of Government than we are at present in possession of?—Do they exhibit a fabric more pure,—more free from imperfection? And then, do they with one consent declare,—This is our System—this is the immaculate Child we wish to adopt—thus far in Reformation will we go,—and no further!

Now, if a temperate Reform be all they want, why bring they not forward to public view a System, definite as to its extent, and in which they all agree, that we (who are in possession) may contemplate its merits, and be convinced that its adoption will be for the public

public good?—The reason is obvious—These Theorists having each a a seperate object in view, have not hitherto agreed, nor ever will concur in any one System. Therefore, to give up the reins of Government, into the hands of such Speculatists, without a conviction that they have a better System to substitute in its place, would be the extreme of madness; and as foolish, as the man who pulls down his house, for a few trifling inconveniences, and has to live in the open Air, while he considers what kind of a habitation he shall rebuild in its stead.

Let us beware, that we share not the fate of that noble Italian, who sacrificed an excellent Constitution by indulging himself in Quackery and Empiricism, and who desired this Memento to be engraven on his Tomb-stone, "*I was well,—wished to be better—and am now here.*"

Had the Reformers, in the Reign of CHARLES the 1st, or, the more recent Revolutionists in a neighbouring Kingdom, been aware of the dreadful consequences they gave birth to, they would have paused ere they had unsheathed the Daggers of Rebellion:—They would have been struck with horror at  
the



the savage barbarities which must inevitably follow, and at the Abyfs of misery and desolation, into which their intemperate zeal must plunge their unhappy, and devoted Country.

The same causes will, in general, produce the same effects; and as We have these striking examples before our Eyes and their dreadful consequences, we must be mad indeed, if we suffer the mischievous hand of innovation to involve us, in the same calamitous situation.

Alterations in established Government can only be attempted with safety, when men's minds are calm and free from prejudice—when reason is cool,—unruffled by passion and uninfluenced by party;—when the projected reform can be maturely considered and digested, and can have the consent and support of all parties, previous to its adoption; but when the Quantum of reform is unspecified, and the support of Parties wanting to insure success and stability, the innovation proceeds gradually forward; it blindly and imperceptibly steals along, and gains vigor at every step, till vicious and wanton, with accumulated and resistless force, it bursts all bounds, and madly levels all Establishments, Constitutions and Laws;—then Anarchy, Murder, Devastation and Ruin are the certain and inevitable consequences. It

It would be well, if those of my Countrymen, who are so enraptured with French-Politicks, would seriously fix their attention on what has passed in that Country, since that very important epoch, the first Revolution.— Important, not only to *France*, but to the whole World; for in that wreck of Empire, the vast convulsion shook to the centre, the System of every Government in Europe.

*France*, under her old Monarchy, stood for ages, highly distinguished among Nations. In the year 1789 that ancient Government, in a few weeks, by the rude hands of desperate and ambitious men, was levelled to the ground; and upon its ruins, a new System of Government was erected under the title of “The Nation, The Law, and The King.”

These first Revolutionists viz. The Constituent Assembly, were Men of wonderful enterprize and some of them possessed of rare and distinguished abilities.

In three Year's unwearied and unceasing labour, they produced an entire new order of things, a new constitutional code of laws, which

which, if the wisdom of man could have rendered permanent, might possibly have been for the happiness of the whole of that extended Empire. To insure firmness and stability to this new System, the Assembly decreed it inviolate and immutable—That the succeeding Assemblies were to enforce those laws, and to be governed by them, and that nothing less, than a new National Convention, demanded by the people for that express purpose, should have power to alter them. In short, the new code of laws, like the laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, should be irrevocable and alter not.

To unite all jarring interests and to secure the support of all parties, and that all discord and animosity might cease and be for ever buried in oblivion, a general amnesty (*upon the motion of the then idolized La Fayette*) passed the National Assembly, which seemed likely to have a good effect, in conciliating men's minds, and adding to their personal security.—Nothing was then wanting, but the King's concurrence, to compleat the new order of things—and the celebration of that great event took place on the 14th September, 1791, with unbounded pomp and festivity, amid the roar of cannon, and the plaudits of an innumerable concourse



of spectators. *TE DEUM* was sung in their Churches (for Churches they had as yet) and all *France* resounded with songs of thanksgiving and exultation!

The Constituent Assembly, having thus restored peace and harmony, and brought the great work of the Revolution, and the new constitutional code of laws, to a conclusion, announced to the world, *that the Re-generation of France was accomplished,—that 26 millions of people were emancipated from the tyrannic rule of arbitrary power, and restored to the Rights of Man; and that this being done—Their mission was at an end.*—Thus ceased, in *September 1791*, the Constituent Assembly in *France*, whose achievements will be memorable to the latest period of time. Without a semblance of legal authority, they seized upon the most ancient Monarchy in Europe, and levelled it to the ground;—corrupted its armies, and attached them to their own interests—stripped the Crown of all authority—seized its palaces and royal domains—deprived the ancient Nobility, dignified Clergy, and all orders of men, of their titles and honors, and degraded them to the rank of the humblest Citizen.—The convents and extensive property annexed

to the church, which for ages had been held sacred, they confiscated and sold.—Thus they triumphed over the inveterate opinions, over the collected partialities and prejudices of mankind, which had subsisted for generations, and tho' threatened and surrounded by hostile nations, and rent by internal convulsions, storms, and tempests, they persevered, with inflexible courage and resolution, in establishing the new System of Government.

Mr. Fox was so enraptured with the exterior of this (then untried) System, that he declared it, in the British Senate, to be *The "noblest structure which had ever been reared by" "human wisdom."*—But Mr. BURKE, who looked more deeply into the causes which gave birth to this RARA AVIS,—notwithstanding it's fair outside, and captivating form, foretold its fate and short-lived existence; nor had this keen observer of the human mind, long to wait, before he beheld his predictions verified.

The National Legislative-assembly, being convoked, took, individually, the constitutional oath, in the following words,—“ *I swear* ”

to

“to maintain, to the utmost of my power, the”  
 “Constitution of the Kingdom, decreed by the”  
 “Constituting National Assembly, in the years”  
 “1789, 1790, and 1791;—to propose, or con-”  
 “sent to nothing in the course of the Legislature,”  
 “which may be hostile to it, and to be, in every”  
 “particular, faithful to the Nation, the Law,”  
 “and the King.”

The duty of these new Legislators was materially different from that of their Predecessors: they had not the arduous task of erecting a new System of Government, but to support one, and to maintain, and cause to be executed, those laws which were handed down to them by the former assembly,—which They, the KING, and PEOPLE, had sworn, in the most solemn manner to keep inviolate.

It seems however, that Mr. THOMAS PAINE's principles had not been confined to our own Country, but had also been industriously disseminated in *France*, and had taken such deep root among these new Legislators, that the most solemn oaths were not proof against the levelling artillery of the RIGHTS OF MAN, and of LIBERTY and EQUALITY.—These men, by a parity of reasoning, and in conformity to

PAINE'S



PAINÉ's principles, concluded, that, as every *Body* of People has at all times an inherent right to legislate for themselves, independent of existing Laws, it would be a flagrant violation of their Rights, if They were to be fettered by the Constitutional Code of Laws, enacted by their predecessors; for, that it was no more incumbent on them to be governed by the laws of the Constituent Assembly, than it was incumbent on that Assembly to be governed by the laws of the old Monarchy: and tho' this mode of reasoning be subversive of all Government, and in direct violation of their oath, yet, it is compatible with the aforesaid Mr. PAINÉ's principles of Government.

These new Legislators, more sanguinary, and with abilities infinitely inferior to their Predecessors, no sooner began to exercise their functions, than they evinced the most implacable hatred to the King, and the executive power: a change of Ministers succeeded each other in almost daily rotation, and the Sinews of Government soon became relaxed, and lost their energy, and that apparently goodly structure, which had been reared with so much care by the former Assembly for the promised glory and happiness of mankind, was evidently hasten-

ing

ing apace to ruin and destruction; for the laws were disregarded, and without authority. In short, in a few months, all the functions of Government ceased,—public credit was at an end, and their commerce ruined; and Conspiracies—Assassinations—Revolt and Rebellion raged, with desolating fury, throughout every part of that once happy and extensive Empire.

In the Capitol, a lawless blood-thirsty and ferocious mob, infatuated with the new-fangled doctrines of LIBERTY and EQUALITY, committed the blackest crimes, and trampled upon all laws, both human and divine,

That ever-memorable *Æra* in *France* (distinguished, by these deluded Men, by the 4th year of *Liberty*, and 1st of *Equality*) will blacken and stigmatize the historic page of that devoted Country to the latest posterity. On the 10th of *August*, 1792, the tide of destruction raged with ungovernable and hellish fury—all was anarchy and dismay; and *Paris*, which had once been held up as the most polished city in the Universe, became the spectator of scenes, which *Algiers* would have blushed at.

In

In this paroxysm of madness, from twelve to fifteen thousand persons perished by the sword, and the deadly hand of the assassin ;—the dying and the dead, in mangled and undistinguished heaps, formed the heart-freezing spectacle in every street.—No order, or distinction of men, met with mercy from their hands : to be suspected of loyalty was certain death, for there was no power to protect the innocent. The Clergy fled to the Altar for safety ; but in vain ;—no sanctuary could shelter them from these sacrilegious monsters.—The King, Queen, and Royal Children, over whose misfortunes humanity has already shed many a tear, escaped with difficulty from their palace, and fled to the national Assembly for protection ; who, in an ignominious manner, consigned them to a mean apartment, without the conveniences, or even the necessaries of life ; from whence they were conveyed to prison, amid the hisses and curses of a ferocious and savage Mob.

After this awful crisis, at which human nature shudders and recoils, a momentary calm succeeded, for the multitude were weary with excess of butchery. Nevertheless, the Assembly ceased not from their sanguinary labours ; for, from the 10th of *August* to the 1st of



of *September*, they were indefatigable in detecting and committing to prison, such of the royal attendants as had hitherto escaped their fury, as well as the remainder of the ancient Nobility and Clergy, who were suspected of attachment to the old monarchical Government, or even to the first Revolution in 1789, under the title of "*The Nation—The Law—and the King;*" and no sooner were the prisons filled with these devoted victims, than the former hord of Russians issued forth with their accustomed ferocity—burst open the prison-doors, and, with more than indian barbarity, without respect either to age, or sex, or rank, or virtue, indiscriminately massacred nearly all who fell in their way, and with murderous and bloody hands, amidst savage acclamations, rioted with exulting madness.

The Princess LAMBALLE, whose beauty and accomplishments were not exceeded by any of her sex, was doomed to prison for no other crime than her attachment to the Royal Family; nor did her prison protect her from these inhuman Monsters; for, after having forced her apartment, and with violence satiated their brutal lusts, they cut out her tongue, tore her limb from limb, struck off her head, and  
fixed

fixed it on a pike; and then exposed the convulsed and horrid spectacle before the window of her afflicted, and much-loved Mistress, the Queen. At this period (the 1st of *September*) above five hundred victims were sacrificed in cold blood, chiefly officers of the Crown, Bishops, Dignitaries of the Church, and ancient Nobility; such as escaped their fury fled from their native Country, to seek an asylum in a foreign land.

These traitorous Legislators, at length sensible of their incapacity to govern, or to restore tranquillity to their distracted Country, voluntarily announced to the world, the period of their legislative existence; and thus, on the 24th of *September*, 1792, the second national Legislative Assembly of *France*, of infamous and bloody memory, slept with its Father, in the 4th year of LIBERTY, and first of EQUALITY, having reigned 11 months and 24 days!

If the people in *France* have exchanged their old Monarchial Government, under which, for ages, they have been so distinguished, for these new-fangled Systems, founded

on

ON LIBERTY and EQUALITY, which, instead of diffusing harmony and peace, have given birth to anarchy, civil commotions, and all those horrid outrages, which disgrace human nature, and which still continue to desolate that unhappy and devoted Country : how much does it behove Us, and all mankind, to shun those rocks upon which they split ; and not rush into destruction with such a dreadful example before our eyes ? Let us rather stifle in their birth, those delusive doctrines of LIBERTY and EQUALITY, so fatal to the happiness of mankind, and so destructive to all Systems of Government.

The next Assembly (now the National Convention) followed up the nefarious System of innovation adopted by their predecessors ; for tho' the King was by them virtually deposed and committed to prison, yet this new Knot of Tyrants went a step farther,—the first act, in their legislative capacity, was the abolition of *Royalty* in *France*, and from this period, their public acts are dated—“ *The first Year of the French Republic.*”

How far these Republicans will be able to restore order and tranquillity to that distracted



tracted Empire, *Time*, the discloser of all human events, can alone develop.—Hitherto, their councils have not been distinguished by any proof of legislative wisdom, or unanimity: indeed every succeeding change in Government, since the 1st Revolution in 1789, (instead of restoring order and tranquillity) has widened the breaches of disunion, and been productive of more atrocious, and blacker crimes.——The strongest feature, in the character of the present Assembly, is their implacable hatred to Kings, and Kingly-governments. One of them, the sanguinary DANTON, thus delivers himself;—  
*"The principle of leaving conquered People and "*  
*"Countries, the right of choosing their own con- "*  
*"stitution, ought to be so far modified, that we "*  
*"should expressly forbid them to give themselves "*  
*"Kings:—THERE MUST BE NO MORE KINGS "*  
*"IN EUROPE.—One King would be sufficient to "*  
*"endanger the general Liberty. And I request "*  
*"that a Committee may be established, for the "*  
*"purpose of promoting, A GENERAL IN- "*  
*"SURRECTION AMONGST ALL PEOPLE,"*  
*"AGAINST KINGS."*

Another worthy Member proposed, to raise "*a select Body, consisting of Twelve hundred*

*"dread Men, armed with daggers, for the Assassination of Kings."*

These blood-thirsty and diabolical principles pervade the whole Convention, who have sworn eternal hostility to all Regal Governments; and, having defaced and trampled upon all Laws both divine and human, they now openly profess and glory in the disbelief of a GOD.

Thus, this Assembly of deluded Infidels, deaf to the voice of humanity and to the Laws of eternal Justice, are sitting in judgment on their lawful Sovereign, and unjustly usurping the functions of judges, jury, and accusers;—and most probably, the time is not far remote, when their savage and merciless hands, may be embued in the blood of martyred Innocence.

It becomes not weak and short-sighted man to divine, for what hidden cause, that wretched nation is thus severely afflicted—Nor is it fit for us to call in question the decrees of unerring wisdom;—but let us, with all humility, supplicate that BEING, who directs  
and

and governs all things, to protect Us, and our Posterity, from the like dreadful afflictions.

That, in any Country, there should exist men enjoying the protection of good and wholesome laws, who can be so monstrously infatuated, as to hold up to view the Revolution in *France*, as an example, or as an event for Englishmen to celebrate, is so wicked, and so impolitic, that the human mind is at a loss to account for such unnatural apostacy.—Yet we find, early in the first Revolution, whilst those infatuated Legislators were demolishing Monarchy,—stripping the Nobility and Clergy of their titles and possessions, and levelling all orders and distinctions of men, that numbers of our Countrymen, with congenial minds, approved,—applauded, and hailed these gentle Innovators, as the true born sons of Liberty, sent on Earth for the re-generation of all nations.—Public meetings were convened, annual festivities were held, to commemorate this glorious epoch of redemption; and that every class of men (however obscure and illiterate) might be enlightened, and instructed, in these new principles, which were deemed so essential to their happiness, Associations and Clubs were



were assembled to disseminate them ;—numberless pamphlets were published, and so indefatigable were the promoters of these doctrines, that the poor had them given for nothing, and such as could not read had them expounded. Thus the seeds of disaffection were spread far and wide, and mens' minds were inflamed and corrupted with imaginary evils.

These new-enlightened Men, in order to level all distinctions, preach up that mankind are all born with equal natural rights,—that all power ought to be derived from the people, and that LIBERTY and EQUALITY, are the imperscriptible rights of men ;—that our representation in Parliament is unequal, and inadequate—that our National-debt is enormous—that the present Family on the Throne are expensive—and that our taxes, which are excessive, would be reduced to little or nothing, were we but relieved from these grievous burthens.

So lost to all decency were some of them, that tho' at convivial meetings, a lewd toast or a licentious sentiment was received with unbounded

bounded applause, and repeated with avidity, yet when the King was given for a toast, it operated like poison to their disaffected and debauched appetites; and neither the charms of the bottle, nor their respect to good manners, could reconcile them to drink to the health of so unwelcome a personage.—They described us as Slaves oppressed by a tyrannical and arbitrary Government, and industriously proclaimed that the happy time was come, when 26 millions of People, in a neighbouring Kingdom, had emancipated themselves from the yoke of their oppressors.—that the glorious Æra was fast approaching, when the eyes of the people of England, would be open to conviction, and to their own happiness:—when they would emerge from their wretched state of slavery and oppression, to the enjoyment of their natural Rights and Liberties.

Mr. PAINE boldly stepped forward in support of these doctrines, and unveiled that diabolical part of the Design, which, before, was but very faintly concealed from public view.—He informs mankind that the people of Great Britain have no constitution—that they have, for ages, been governed by Knaves and Fools—that all Kings are crowned Robbers—that Lords and Bishops are the very  
Fungi

Fungi of Government—useless *Things*, and a disgrace to an Empire—that mankind would be much happier and better without them—and that the Rights of Men ought not to be violated by orders and distinctions.

Such is Mr. PAINÉ's levelling System; and tho' our modern Reformers do not say that they hate all Kings, and Lords, and Bishops; yet, they openly applaud and are enraptured with the measures of those very Revolutionists in *France*, who have abolished Monarchy, Nobility, and Episcopacy. Hence, what their real sentiments are, my readers will easily discover.

Mr. PAINÉ's treasonable publications "*The Rights of Man*" are fraught with the greatest mischief: his principles are subversive of all Government,—his objects are evidently to stir up sedition, and to seduce men from their allegiance to his Majesty, and their attachment to our present happy constitution; but tho' they are subversive of all establishments, and of the peace and happiness of mankind, yet our Reformers have not thought them the less befitting their purpose,—for we find these



these very books circulated with astonishing industry through every part of the British Empire, and, that they are approved by some leading men in the County of *Lancaster*, the following Resolutions bear ample testimony.

“ *Bulls'-Head Inn, Manchester, 13th March, 1792.*

“ **A**T a meeting of the *Manchester Constitutional Society*, held this day,

IT WAS UNANIMOUSLY RESOLVED,

That the thanks of this society are due to **Mr. THOMAS PAINE**, for the publication of his *Second part of the Rights of Man, combining principle and practice* ;” a work of the highest importance to every nation under Heaven, but particularly to this, as containing excellent and practicable plans for an immediate and considerable reduction of the public expenditure; for the prevention of wars; for the extension of our manufactures and commerce; for the education of the young; for the comfortable support of the aged; for the better maintenance of the poor of every description; and finally, “for lessening GREATLY, and without delay, the enormous load of taxes, under which this country at present labours.

C

That

That this Society congratulate their countrymen at large, on the influence which Mr. PAINE's publications appear to have had, in procuring the repeal of some oppressive taxes, in the present session of Parliament; and they hope that this adoption of a small part of Mr. PAINE's ideas, will be followed by the most strenuous exertions to accomplish a complete Reform in the present inadequate state of the representation of the people; and that the other great plans of public benefit, which Mr. PAINE has so powerfully recommended, will be speedily carried into effect."

THOMAS WALKER, President.

SAMUEL JACKSON, Secretary."

Who they are that compose this "*Constitutional Society in Manchester*," besides Mr. WALKER and Mr. JACKSON, I am wholly uninformed, but I am convinced that the bulk of the Gentlemen in that opulent and flourishing Town will not thank Mr. WALKER and Mr. JACKSON, for thus fixing upon them the Stigma of disaffection; for I am assured that (excepting a few) there are not more loyal Subjects in any part of his Majesty's dominions.

It is unnecessary to remark, that this second part of *the Rights of Man*, in praise of which  
this

this Society has been so lavish, is the same valuable Book for which Mr. PAINE has been convicted in the Court of King's-bench, as the author of a seditious publication against Government.

If a Book should be published, having for it's object the peace and happiness of mankind in this life, and, if possible, could insure their eternal Salvation in another world, I much doubt whether such Book would be received by some men with such distinguished approbation, as Mr. PAINE's "*Rights of Man*" or be dispersed with such active zeal and industry.

As most disaffected Writers have probably at some period of their lives read the Scriptures, I wonder that no apposite texts—no divine precepts, have allured their attention to elucidate and sanction their doctrines, and to exhibit their political as well as religious principles in a more favorable point of view.

We are exhorted, "*To fear God and honor the King*", and the wisest of men inculcated this invaluable precept (which at this particular season deserves to be recorded in letters of Gold) "*My Son, fear Thou the Lord and the*"  
"*King*"



“ King, and meddle not with them that are given ”  
 “ to change ; for their calamities shall arise sud- ”  
 “ denly.”—As it is possible that these reflections may fall into the hands of some persons who may be unacquainted with Mr. PAINE’S character, a brief account of him may not be unacceptable to them.

MR. THOMAS PAINE was born at *Thetford* in *Norfolk*, in the year 1736.—His father was a Staymaker, and gave him a decent education ; when 14 years old, he was taken from school to learn his Father’s business, and continued with him six years, after which, he worked as a Journeyman Staymaker at *Dover* ; but being too idle and dissolute to attend to business, he occasionally adopted another character viz. that of a Methodist-preacher.—His volatile disposition being soon tired with preaching, as well as stay-making, at the age of 25 he procured admittance into the Excise, from which service he was discarded for mal-practices in less than a year afterwards, when he resorted to his old profession of preaching.—*London*, and several other populous Towns can boast of the honor of Citizen PAINE’S methodistical doctrines ; but this mode of life was again soon deserted by our Hero, and by the assistance of his friends we find him reinstated in the Excise

cise at *Lewes* in *Suffex*, and being then infected with an itch for writing, he frequently employed his talents either in swindling his brother Excisemen, or involving them in difficulties. In a few years, he was again dismissed from the Excise, and his conduct was become so notorious, as to leave him without the least hope of ever being restored to the service.—He then embarked for *America* in the year 1774, and report says, that whilst he was Commissary in the American Army, he was tried for peculation and embezzlement, and by the sentence of a Court-martial was rendered incapable of ever again serving the united states of *America*. Be this as it may—after peace was restored to that Country, it was no longer blessed with the residence of our adventurer,—he returned to *London* in search of fresh commotions.

At that time our restless reformers in England were busy propagating dissensions, by holding up the Revolution in *France* for our example, by recommending it to our imitation, and by other means. This was too favorable a moment to escape Mr. PAINE's notice.—He readily joined his efforts to those discontented Beings, and published his first and second parts of "*The Rights of Man*."—These seditious publications raised him highly in the estimation

estimation of seditious men, and he was too distinguished a volunteer in disaffection and anarchy, to escape the notice of our new-enlightened neighbours in *France*.—Hence, I presume, we find this Firebrand of Rebellion, and the late Birmingham Doctor (those renowned disturbers of the peace and happiness of mankind) in the year 1792, exalted to the eminent honor of being elected members of that infamous and blood-thirsty *Body* of men. The present National Convention of *France*. Here I shall take leave of this distinguished Hero of the Bodice, and endeavour to give (what I conceive to be) a rational definition of *the Rights of Man*.

*The Rights of Man* are two-fold,\* viz. Those which appertain to him in a state of nature—and those which belong to him in a civil, or social state.—In the first, his rights are such as the Savages enjoy in uncivilized Countries, where inclination and power alone form the confines of Liberty.—But in civil society, *the Rights of Man* are circumscribed, and are conformable to the laws of the land he lives in, define the laws, and you define his rights.—For the laws of every civilized Country determine the *Rights of the People*; of course *the Rights*



*Rights of Man* vary as much as the laws of one Country differ from the laws of another.

Pray what extent of Liberty could we enjoy, more than we are in possession of, which would contribute to our happiness?—If *your* liberty suffered *you* to do injury to *your* neighbour,—to violate his Daughter, or to pillage his possessions,—would not another neighbour, more powerful than you, have an equal right to violate your Daughter, and pillage your possessions?—This reasoning will hold good ad infinitum.—If this was to be the consequence of the extension of our liberty, what should we gain by it?—we should bring upon ourselves that which would be our ruin, and the destruction of all human society, viz. Licentiousness and Anarchy.

It is continually founded in our ears that the representation in Parliament is unequal and inadequate—that some insignificant and obscure places, which are bought and sold, retain the privilege of sending Members to Parliament, whilst some large and populous Towns have no Representatives at all, and extensive Counties only send two at the most.—All this is granted—what is complained of is the best proof of the inestimable value of our excellent laws and constitution, which hold  
sacred

sacred and inviolable the Rights and Privileges of every individual,—of every *place*, and of every *order* and description of men.—The close Boroughs (as they are called) only retain and exercise their ancient Rights and Liberties, and to take away those rights would be to violate the constitution, and would strike at the very root and foundation of British Liberty. I believe that the titles to some people's estates will not bear so strict a scrutiny, as the Right which those close Boroughs enjoy of sending Representatives to Parliament.

The evil alledged to arise from the inequality in the representation is far more imaginary than real: for, in fact, the man, who gives a vote for a Representative in Parliament, is not a jot better represented than his neighbour who does not enjoy that privilege. We are told by discontented men, that three-fourths of the people are taxed without their consent. With as much propriety might the minority, on any question in the House of Commons say “we did not give our consent to this” “measure, before it passed into a law, for we” “opposed it, therefore, we will not be bound” “by it.”—Now the people of England who do not enjoy the privilege of voting, and the Members in the House of Commons who are  
in

in a minority, are, in this point of view, precisely in the same situation.—You will easily perceive the fallacy of this mode of reasoning—for if the decision of a majority of Members in the House of Commons was not equally conclusive and binding on the whole, as on the majority, there would at once be an end of our laws, and of our Government.

That our present representation in Parliament is competent to all purposes of good Government, the flourishing state of every part of the Kingdom bears ample and irrefragable testimony.—Now was the reverse the case, and our trade actually bad—our commerce ruined, and our manufactories languishing, and were it demonstrable that our unequal representation in Parliament occasioned all this wretchedness, then there would be some wisdom in tracing the evil to its source, and in endeavouring to remove it; and it might be prudent in that case, to run some hazard to accomplish so desirable an object; but, when no such circumstances exist, when all is plenty, prosperity and riches, to risk the effects of a change on speculative theories, would be the height of madness and folly; for much might be lost, and the very existence of the Constitution endangered in the experiment, whilst, on the other hand, no essential advantage could be gained.

The



The better to elucidate this argument, let us recur to that period, when our House of Commons declared *that the influence of the Crown had encreased, was encreasing, and ought to be diminished.* (I do not mean to contest the truth of that position.)—A Bill was introduced to remedy the supposed evil, which soon received the sanction of both Houses of Parliament, and his Majesty, conceiving that the intended abridgement of the power of the Crown was for the welfare of his people, cheerfully gave it his assent.—By the operation of this Bill, the influence of the Crown was undoubtedly materially curtailed.—The Commons (or rather a Faction in the House of Commons) having at that time gained the ascendancy, and having begun with success the work of innovation, by levelling the first fence of the Crown, some time afterwards followed up their encroaching System, with another Bill of more alarming tendency, viz. Mr. Fox's East India Bill, and, as it generally happens that when the Machinators of innovation have once begun they seldom know where to stop, they contrived to get this Bill passed the House of Commons. Its fatal consequences however were perceived in the House of Lords, and it was by them, in a critical moment, rejected, and the dissolution of that virtuous Administration immediately followed.

Had

Had Mr. Fox's India Bill been carried into a law, the Constitution would have been shook to its basis, the Crown wantonly deprived of it's prerogatives and it's patronage, and, in short, little or nothing would have been left it worth preserving. — Mr. ERSKINE, at that time a kind of Deputy Champion of that Faction, insisted strenuously in the House of Commons, that the title of "The Minister of the Crown," which the Right Honble. Gentleman (Mr. PITT) had arrogated to himself, was a new character, and one that the Constitution of England neither acknowledged, nor knew. I shall make no comment on such unconstitutional language.

A majority of the Commons having thus manifested their open hostility to the allowed and just rights of the Crown, the King was obliged to resort to the strong measure of dissolving the Parliament, and of trusting to the loyalty and support of his people, who, to their immortal honor, on this memorable occasion proved themselves worthy of that great confidence; and so marked was the disapprobation of the Country at such unprecedented conduct, that many of the Leaders of the Faction were unable to procure Seats in the next Parliament.—I have only to add, that those leading men, who had nearly plunged this Country  
into

into Anarchy, and driven the Monarch from his Throne, or at least had almost left the Crown not worth the wearing, are the same who have been the avowed Champions of the disaffected, and the patrons of the seditious and turbulent on every occasion.

But to return from this digression to the present rage for LIBERTY and EQUALITY.—In the human race, there is no such thing as Equality, it cannot subsist a moment, except in infancy and in the grave.—The inclinations and pursuits of men are as various and diversified as the lineaments of their faces.—Is the man who bravely fights in the field, or boldly exposes himself to the dangers of the seas for his Country's weal—is he, instead of receiving some reward for his merit, to sit down undistinguished with the indolent, the coward and the 'profligate? If such were the case, where would exist the spur to emulation,—the incitement to be brave?—But the kind of Equality most coveted by many persons is *the equalization of Property*—they say 'tis hard that, while some individuals possess more than they can enjoy, others, equal in natural respects, are quite destitute.—Of this description of men is the Libertine, the Spendthrift who has wasted his substance, the idle, the dissolute, the pick-pocket, and the plunderer



derer. To such the doctrine of Equalization has many charms.—But was it even in the power of those abandoned men to plunge this Kingdom into anarchy, into one rude chaos, and were it then possible that EQUALITY could arise from that confused mass—how long would it continue to bless mankind?—Would it continue an age—a year—or a month?—No—not a week, nor a day.—An attempt to place and keep mankind upon an equality would be as futile, as that of the equalization of men's statures, or the temperament of the Atmosphere.

The equality the most essential to our happiness is the equal participation and protection of good laws, which the subjects of this Country enjoy in a more eminent degree than those of any other in the known world.

We are continually amused with impracticable theories, and reiterated attempts are made to captivate our imaginations with ideal and visionary projects: our peace, our happiness, our prosperity and our invaluable Constitution are all attacked under those delusive masks—"THE RIGHTS OF MAN, AND LIBERTY AND EQUALITY."——Let us my Countrymen, guard against these delusive and visionary phantoms, for they are destructive of our peace, and every other sublunary blessing.  
Let

Let us banish discord and sedition from amongst us.—Let us be unanimous—let us stand firm and unshaken in our loyalty to our King, in our attachment to our Constitution and in support of our laws.—“ Let us submit our- ”  
 “ selves to every ordinance of man, for the ”  
 “ Lord’s sake, whether it be to the King as ”  
 “ Supreme ; or unto Governors, or unto them ”  
 “ which are sent by him, for the punish- ”  
 “ ment of Evil-doers, and for the praise of ”  
 “ them that do well.”

And while we are thus exalted above every Nation upon Earth in prosperity and riches, and whilst our Rights and Liberties are protected and held sacred by our invaluable Constitution, let us learn to prize and stamp a just value upon these inestimable blessings.

Let war and discord rage around us, let other Empires rise or fall, if Englishmen remain to England true, Britain can never fall. Encircled by the ocean, we fear no invading Foe, and the dominion of the Sea shall ever boast BRITANNIA it’s Protector and it’s Queen.

F I N I S.

Entered at STATIONER’S-HALL.

